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**PARENT ADOLESCENT CONFLICT AMONG ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANT
FAMILIES**

By

Aparna Kumar

Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

Kathleen L. Kitto, Dean of the Graduate School

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Aparna Kumar
December 1, 2014

**PARENT ADOLESCENT CONFLICT AMONG ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANT
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A Thesis
Presented To
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Aparna Kumar
November, 2014

Abstract

Acculturation can be a difficult process for immigrant families as parents and children adjust to different cultural value systems. Parents and adolescents may acculturate at different rates to the mainstream culture due to parents wanting to retain their heritage culture and adolescents immersion into mainstream Western culture. This seems to assume assimilation as the same process as acculturation when it is only one possible outcome. As a result of this, acculturation gaps between parents and adolescents result, which may lead to parent-adolescent conflict. The current study took a mixed methods approach to investigate how Asian Indian immigrant families experience parent-adolescent conflict. Rasch analyses were used to assess the cultural measurement equivalence of the Asian American Family Conflict Scale (FCS) and the Issues Checklist (IC) among 52 Asian Indian adolescents. Twelve adolescents participated in semi-structured interviews to provide qualitative insight into the nature of parent-adolescent conflict and which of these two measures captured conflict within this population. Multiple regression analyses indicated that acculturative stress predicted scores on the FCS and the IC. Rasch analysis, the study identified one misfit item for the FCS with this population. Understanding the reasoning behind this misfit item as well as why this scale performed well is provided by interview data.

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Introduction

Asian Americans represent the fastest growing minority group in the United States (Taylor et al., 2013). There are approximately 3 million Asian Indians in the United States and represent the third largest Asian ethnic group in the country. The population of Asian Indians has grown almost 70% from 2000 to 2010 in the U.S. (Hoeffel, Rastogi, & Kim, 2012). As the rate of immigration increases in the United States, there is a need for more culturally sensitive research to learn more about the unique experiences of families as they negotiate multiple cultural value systems in their acculturation process. More research, especially with understudied ethnic groups (i.e., Asian Indians) will help provide insight into challenges that families face in adapting to a new culture that greatly differs to their native culture.

The process of immigration can be stressful as it involves cultural, social and familial changes (Chang & Ng, 2002). An important task for immigrants is to adapt to the new culture by learning new norms that may be different to their native country (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990). Researchers have found that typically, U.S.-born and raised children assimilate faster to the new culture than their parents who were born in the native country. When this happens, acculturation gaps and conflict may occur as parents and their child adapt to a new culture yet retain aspects of their native culture at different rates (Birman, 2006). The focus of the current study was to explore how Asian Indian immigrant families experience parent-adolescent conflict.

Asian Indian Culture

In order to understand parent-adolescent conflict in families, it is necessary to understand the cultural context for Asian Indian adolescents. Asian Indian adolescents have to negotiate between two value systems: traditional Asian Indian and mainstream Western and as a result, adolescents may have a different value system to their parents as they have grown up in an entirely different culture (Ranganath & Ranganath, 1997; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). A major component of the Asian Indian culture is the emphasis on family. Traditionally, families are patriarchal and consist of grandparents, parents and children living together as a joint family and in doing so; harmony between family members and interdependence is sought after (Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994; Roopnarine & Hossain, 1992). Within the family, there are defined and rigid roles for each of the family members. As a parent, the father is the primary source of income and the maker of household decisions. The mother takes care of the children and the rest of her family (Kakar, 1978). The parent-child relationship is a hierarchical one in which children are expected to do as they are told without question (Ross-Sheriff, 1992). Children are expected to perform well academically, respect and obey their elders, and place importance on the family (Dasgupta, 1989; Helweg & Helweg, 1990; Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 2000). Sons and daughters are treated differently as daughters are raised to become wives and sons are expected to take care of their parents during old age. As a result, daughters are held accountable to stricter rules (e.g., friendships with the opposite gender and curfews) and harsher consequences for not abiding by rules (Das & Kemp, 1997; Medora, 2007).

Asian Indian parents often emphasize the importance of success to their children,

both vocationally and financially (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997). This can be attributed to parents viewing their children's education as a reflection of themselves. As a result, parents expect their children to perform well academically in order to be able to attend reputed higher education institutions (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007; Mittal & Hardy, 2005).

Adolescence in particular may be a challenging stage in development for Asian Indians as youth attempt to consolidate the differing values between traditional Indian culture and Western culture into their single identity (Ranganath & Ranganath, 1997). For example, traditional Indian culture tends to discourage dating in adolescence and non-traditional careers (e.g., teaching) and emphasizes that it is up to the parents to select a spouse and vocation (Dasgupta, 1998). This differs greatly with mainstream Western culture, which encourages the autonomy development of adolescents. Due to these differences in cultural values, parents and adolescents may experience conflict in their acculturation processes.

Acculturation

Early definitions of acculturation described the phenomenon as one that occurred on a group level (Redfield, Linton & Herkowitz, 1936; Linton, 1940). The construct of acculturation later evolved into being conceptualized as the changes that an individual experienced as she had first-hand contact with cultures different to her own (Graves, 1967). However, these early definitions were one – dimensional and assumed that an individual would assimilate into the host culture and not retain identification with the heritage culture.

In the 1980s & 1990s, Berry (1980, 1992, 1997) proposed a two dimensional model which considered the extent to which an individual retained their heritage culture as well as the extent to which an individual participated in the host culture. This bidimensional model of acculturation consists of four different acculturation strategies: Integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Integration (or biculturalism) is when an individual retains her heritage culture but also takes part in the host culture. Assimilation is when an individual does not retain her heritage culture and only participates in the host culture. Separation is when an individual retains only her heritage culture and does not take part in the host culture at all. Marginalization is when an individual does not retain her heritage culture and does not take part in the host culture. When parents and adolescents use different strategies to adjust to the mainstream culture as they acculturate, conflict may result.

Acculturative Stress

When an individual has been able to adapt to the new culture with ease, they have had a minimally challenging experience. When an individual has had a stressful experience adapting to a new culture due to family or individuals from the mainstream culture, acculturative stress may occur (Ward & Kennedy, 1993). The process of immigrating to the United States can be difficult for Asian Indians as they must leave their extended family behind (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007) and family is a large source of social support within the Asian Indian community. The process of adapting to the mainstream culture once an individual has immigrated also poses additional stressors. Ramisetty-Mikler (1993) found that Asian Indians might struggle to adjust to mainstream Western culture and communicate with Americans due to their

accents and reserved personalities. An additional challenge is negotiating between mainstream Western cultural values and retaining Asian Indian cultural values (Das & Kemp, 1997). The extent to which Asian Indians acculturate to the mainstream culture varies based on several factors including family size, education, and financial status (Almeida, 2005). In general, Asian Indians tend to retain core values, which include gender role expectations, yet incorporate practical values such as attire (Inman, Constantine, & Ladany, 1999). As Asian Indians negotiate between competition value systems, conflict may arise between parents and adolescents as the expectations for children in the United States greatly differ from expectations for children in India.

Parent-Adolescent Conflict

Parent – adolescent conflict is something that occurs often as adolescents develop their sense of self (Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Smetana, 2002). When an adolescent becomes autonomous, he or she starts make day-to-day and long-term life decisions on his or her own. When parents and adolescents disagree over when adolescents can make these decisions independently and which types of decisions they can make on their own, parent – adolescent conflict may result. Research with European American and African American adolescents has shown that everyday conflict arises between parents and adolescents over three types of issues: conventional, prudential and multifaceted (Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Conventional issues refer to social norms such as etiquette, prudential issues refer to an individual's well being such as safety and comfort, and multifaceted issues were ones that incorporated both conventional and prudential domains such as peer relationships. Parents and adolescents usually agree that parents ought to make decisions about conventional and prudential issues. Family conflict arose

over the mundane day-to-day details of life such as interacting with siblings and doing homework (Smetana, 1989). A rationale for this is that adolescents believe that these conflicts have to do with their autonomy however parents believe that these conflicts are related to social norms.

Studies focused on every day conflict have investigated mostly European American adolescents' experiences (Laursen, Coy & Collins, 1998). In comparison, studies with Asian immigrant families have focused on acculturation-based conflict, or conflict that occurs as a result over differing cultural values (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996).

Acculturation dissonance refers to the difference in cultural values and beliefs between parents and their children as a result of different rates of integration with the mainstream culture (Kwak, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Umana-Taylor, Bhanot & Shin (2006) suggested that immigrant parents who were born in the heritage country retain more of the heritage cultural values in comparison to children who were born in the host country and identify with the mainstream culture rather than the heritage culture. This can be attributed to adolescents going to school, spending time with other ethnic peers and learning the mainstream language. As a result, adolescents gain familiarity with the societal norms and values of the mainstream culture. These mainstream American values are actually quite different to those of the Asian Indian culture.

While Euro-American culture encourages the development of an adolescent into an independent young adult (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980), Southeast Asian adolescents also try to retain traditional Asian values such as interdependence of the group and familial responsibilities (Xiong, Eliason, Detzner, & Cleveland, 2005; Ying & Chao, 1996). Immigrant parents expect that not only will their children learn the language and

culture of the mainstream society, but also that they will respect the culture and traditions of their country of origin (Rhee, Chang & Rhee, 2003). As parents and adolescents negotiate these clashing cultural value systems, these fundamental cultural value differences can result in conflict (Juang, Syed, & Takagi, 2007; Kwak, 2003). However, there is a lack of research about whether acculturation-based conflict occurs and how it manifests in other Asian ethnic groups (i.e., Asian Indians).

The Current Study

While there have been numerous studies on parent-adolescent conflict, most of this research has been quantitative in nature. These studies have focused on previously established topics of conflict as well as the frequency of conflict. Although research on parent-adolescent conflict within Asian families has been conducted, these studies grouped participants into one “Asian” group, which neglected the unique differences between each subgroup (Alvarez, 2002). Asian Indians are different in several different ways to other Asian groups within the U.S. in that many Asian Indians speak English “very well” (76.9%), pursued higher education (63.9% have at least a bachelor’s degree) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004), and take on some mainstream Western values yet retain Asian Indian values through a selective acculturative process (Patel, Power, & Bhavnagri, 1996). As a result of educational and financial success, Asian Indians are considered to be “model minorities” and are well-adjusted to the mainstream culture which may explain the lack of research on family conflict within the Asian Indian community (Poulsen, 2009).

The current research studied Asian Indian adolescents, most of who were born and grew up in the United States. All participants completed the Issues Checklist (IC),

Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS), Social, Attitudinal, Familial, and Environmental Acculturation Stress Scale (SAFE), and demographic questions via an online survey. A subset of survey participants took part in one-on-one interviews to discuss their relationship with their parents and discuss the items on the FCS. The IC is commonly used to assess family conflict within the United States. However, the items on this measure are related to autonomy development in adolescents and do not consider potential topics of conflict that are rooted in acculturative differences.

For this reason, the use of the IC and FCS was enhanced by interview input in order to learn about how parent-adolescent conflict occurs within the Asian Indian culture which the measures may not capture. As a result, of this multi-measure approach, the study was able to provide greater insight into Asian Indian parent-adolescent conflict.

This study used quantitative methods to measure aspects of parent-adolescent conflict, investigate the relationship between acculturative stress and conflict among Asian Indian immigrant families, and utilized qualitative methods to understand the topics that result in conflict. In order to do so, several different techniques including key informants, interviews, and Rasch analysis were used.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This exploratory study investigated the nature of parent-adolescent conflict among Asian Indian immigrant families. In doing so, several research questions emerged:

- 1) What is the cultural measurement equivalence of the FCS and IC with Asian Indian adolescents?
- 2) Do these measures adequately capture parent-adolescent conflict?

3) Do higher levels of acculturative stress predict parent-adolescent conflict?

In order to answer question one, Rasch analysis was conducted with survey response data from the FCS and IC. Survey responses were also used in order to conduct multiple regressions to address question three. Finally, thematic analysis was used to extract the themes that emerged from interviews with adolescents to capture the essence of parent-adolescent conflict and answer question two.

Due to the exploratory nature of this study, many hypotheses were not developed prior to conducting this research. However, the following hypotheses were formulated to answer the three research questions:

- 1) The FCS will capture parent-adolescent conflict due to this measure's sensitivity towards acculturation-based conflict compared to the IC.
- 2) The qualitative interview data will yield new insights into parent-adolescent conflict that is not captured by the quantitative measures.
- 3) Higher levels of acculturative stress will predict parent-adolescent conflict rooted in acculturation gaps as found by previous research (e.g., Gil & Vega, 1996; Roley, Kawakami, Baker, Hurtado, Chin, & Hovey, 2014)

Method

Participants

Fifty-two 14-18 year old Asian Indian adolescents (34 females, 18 males, $M = 16.2$, $SD = 1.3$) were recruited from cultural organizations and religious places of worship in the Greater Seattle area via purposive sampling. Most of these adolescents (69.2%) were born in the United States; the remaining participants were born in India (26.9%), Australia and Singapore (0.04%). Participants were entered into a drawing for a chance

to win a \$20 Amazon Gift Card for completing the survey. From these 52 participants, 12 adolescents took part in semi-structured interviews with the researcher and were compensated with a \$5 Starbucks Gift Card.

Measures

Issues Checklist (IC; Robin & Foster, 1989; Appendix A)

The IC is a 44-item measure assessing the frequency and intensity of family conflict. Response choices range from 0 to 1 for the frequency subscale and range from 1 (*calm*) to 5 (*angry*) for the intensity subscale. Scores can range from 0 to 44 or 44 to 220, with higher scores indicating higher levels of conflict and more intense conflict, respectively. Example items in this measure include “which clothes to wear” and “using the television.” The IC has shown adequate reliability and validity with an alpha coefficient of 0.86 (Viikinsalo, Crawford, Kimbrel, Long, & Dashiff, 2005). In the present study, the internal consistency was adequate at 0.89.

Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS; Lee, Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000; Appendix B)

The FCS is a ten-item measure assessing the likelihood and seriousness of conflict between adolescents and their parents. Response choices range from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*) for the likelihood subscale and 1 (*not at*) to 5 (*extremely*) for the seriousness subscale. Scores can range from 10 to 50 across the likelihood as well as the seriousness subscales with higher scores indicating higher likelihood of conflict occurring as well as more serious conflict occurring, respectively. Example items in this measure include “Your parents tell you that a social life is not important at this age, but you think that it is” and “Your parents always compare you to others, but you want them to accept

you for being yourself.” The FCS has shown adequate reliability and validity with alpha coefficients of 0.85 – 0.89 for likelihood of conflict and 0.89 – 0.90 for seriousness of conflict (Park, Kim, Cheung, & Kim, 2010). In the present study, the internal consistencies of these two subscales were adequate at 0.87 for likelihood of conflict and 0.91 for seriousness of conflict.

Social, Attitudinal, Familial, and Environmental Acculturation Stress Scale (SAFE; Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987; Appendix C)

The SAFE is a 24-item measure assessing acculturative stress. Response choices range from 1 (*not stressful*) to 5 (*extremely stressful*). Scores can range from 24 to 120, with higher scores indicated higher levels of acculturative stress. Example items in this measure include “I don’t feel at home” and “I have trouble understanding others when they speak.” The SAFE has been found to have adequate internal reliability and construct validity with an alpha coefficient of 0.89 (Joiner & Walker, 2002). The Cronbach’s alpha for the present study was 0.90.

Demographic questionnaire

Each participant completed a demographic questionnaire, which asked about participants’ age, gender, place of birth, age at time of migration to the U.S. (if applicable), race/ethnicity, father’s place of birth, mother’s place of birth and extra-curricular activity involvement.

Interviews

The interview script asked participants for their thoughts regarding the items on the FCS based on their own life experiences. The script also asked adolescents to respond to questions about their relationships with their parents. These questions were:

“What are your parents’ expectations for you?,” “What are your parents’ expectations for what it means to be a proper Indian boy (or girl)?,” “What are your expectations for yourself?,” “What are your expectations for what it means to be a proper Indian boy (or girl)?,” and “What types of things do you do on your own without your parents?”

Coding

The semi-structured interviews were recorded and then transcribed verbatim by a research assistant. Thematic coding was utilized for the analysis of the interview data. The thematic analysis incorporated a data-driven approach as described by Braun & Clarke (2006). First, transcripts were read and initial codes were generated. Next, these initial codes were grouped into broader categories and subcategories. At this phase of the coding process, the primary researcher and research assistant met to discuss the codes that were developed independently and discussed any discrepancies that emerged. These codes were then compiled into a coding manual, which consisted of the code name and description as well as examples of the code within the transcripts.

After the coding manual was created, two researchers recoded the data with the use of the coding manual, and reliability was ensured through the discussion of non-similar codes. If a consensus could not be reached for the code, that code was dropped. Throughout this iterative coding stage, collapsing or combining similar codes created themes.

Procedure

Participants completed the survey measures online using Qualtrics once they had received an email invitation and were entered into a drawing to win a \$20 Amazon Gift Card as compensation. Upon completion of the survey, they were asked if they were

interested in participating in an interview with the researcher. Participants who were willing to take part in an interview signed up for a time slot with the primary researcher at a later date. Participants were asked where they wanted to meet and many of them chose to meet at the local Starbucks. Interview participants were greeted and welcomed upon entering the Starbucks. After acquiring signed consent, the researcher asked participants about their experiences and thoughts regarding the items on the FCS. The researcher asked follow-up questions as necessary to discuss each item on the measure until no new themes or thoughts emerged. Then participants were asked three questions about themselves and their parents. These questions were: “What are your parents’ expectations for what it means to be a proper Indian boy (or girl)?,” “What are your expectations for what it means to be a proper Indian boy (or girl)?,” and “What types of things do you do on your own without your parents?.” This same protocol was repeated for each of the remaining 11 participants. Interviews were recorded with the use of an audio recorder, and lasted approximately forty-five minutes each. Upon the end of the interview, participants were debriefed and given time to discuss any questions that they had with the primary researcher. Participants were provided with a \$5 Starbucks gift card as compensation.

Results

Rasch Analysis Background

The survey measures were analyzed via Rasch analysis which is based on a mathematical model developed by Rasch (1961) in order to assess the internal validity of measures used to assess a single construct: parent-adolescent conflict within an Asian

Indian sample as well as gain insights through qualitative analysis of interviews into what types of issues result in conflict among Asian Indian parents and adolescents.

It is important to review Rasch analysis in order to understand the data analysis of the survey data. Rasch analysis enables raw ordinal data (i.e., FCS) to be logarithmically transformed to interval data and by comparing this new data to an ideal model, item level estimates are provided (Hagquist, Bruce, & Gustavsson, 2009). However, in order to conduct Rasch analysis it is important to consider an important assumption: unidimensionality.

Unidimensionality assumes that a set of items within a measure is intended to measure one construct. If this assumption is violated, then item and ability estimation could be biased and inaccurate (Yu, Popp, DiGangi, & Jannasch-Pennell, 2007). To determine whether or not a measure can be assumed as unidimensional has good construct validity; item fit statistics from Rasch analysis are used.

Rasch analysis ranks items within a measure from items that participants are more likely to complete to items that participants are least likely to complete. By calculating the probability of participants responding to a particular item, item difficulty is created. In addition to the items, participants are also ranked based on how much of the construct (i.e., parent-adolescent conflict) that they have. By finding how much of this parent-adolescent construct a person experiences, person ability is calculated. The more participants that respond to an item, the easier the item is considered to be and the participants who continuously respond to items that few other participants respond to are considered to have higher ability. These item and person estimates show how much of the construct each person has. For example, a low item estimate would imply that the

item can assess levels of the construct in participants who have low levels of parent-adolescent conflict (Bond & Fox, 2007).

Estimates and Error

Rasch analysis transforms scale data logarithmically to provide item difficulty and person ability estimates on a logit scale. Winsteps sets the mean on this scale as 0 and so negative mean item estimates indicate items that are easier to complete and positive mean item estimates indicate items that are more difficult to complete. Positive mean person estimates imply that the measure can identify participants who have more of the construct and negative mean person estimates imply that the measure can identify participants who have less of the construct. Rasch analysis output provides an estimate for individual items at which the lowest and highest response categories were equally as likely and the number of participants who completed those response categories. By doing so, Rasch analysis shows which items are most likely to be completed by participants with varying levels of parent-adolescent conflict (Bond & Fox, 2007).

In order to determine the level of confidence in the item difficulty and person ability estimates, error ought to be considered. If item difficulty estimates have large errors, it means that few participants responded to these items and as a result perhaps that item should not be included when the measure is used with this population. If person ability estimates have large errors, then perhaps items within the measure are not sensitive enough to detect the varying levels of the construct within participants (Bond & Fox, 2007).

The precision of estimates is shown by the error associated. Larger item estimate error values can result if participants are not likely to endorse the item at all. This may

mean that the item is not applicable for this sample. Person estimates may have large errors if those participants are not likely to endorse any items and can indicate that the scale is not sensitive enough to measure the construct for this individual (Bond & Fox, 2007).

Reliability

Rasch analysis provides several indicators to determine whether there are enough items of varying levels of difficulty as well as enough of a range of person's ability. One such indicator is the person reliability index which shows the likelihood of the same person distribution reoccurring if the same participants were provided a parallel group of items which assessed the same construct (Wright & Masters, 1982). This reliability indicator is not dependent on sample size and improves with small person error estimates. The item reliability index indicates the likelihood of the item estimates reoccurring if the same items were provided to a different sample of the same size and behavior. This reliability indicator improves when there is a range of item difficulties. As these reliability indexes increase, so does the level of confidence in the validity of the measure.

Fit

Indices of item fit help determine if the item contributes to assessing a construct. Rasch analysis provides two different types of fit statistics: infit and outfit. Infit statistics are weighted mean squares in which the residual between the expected Rasch model performance and actual performance is squared and weighted by its invariance and thus is sensitive to errors associated with estimated person abilities. Outfit statistics are unweighted mean squares, which are heavily influenced by person or item outliers. These statistics are reported in an unstandardized as well as standardized way. The

unstandardized fit statistic is the average of the residual between the expected Rasch model performance and actual performance is squared and is expected to have a value of 1.0 based on the ideal Rasch measurement model. The standardized fit statistic is a t-score and should have a value of 0 based on the ideal Rasch measurement model. With Likert scales, unstandardized fit statistics ranging between 0.60-1.40 and standardized fit statistics ranging between -2.00-2.00 are considered to be acceptable. When an item has infit and outfit values of 1.0, they show that the item conforms to Rasch model expectations. When an item has infit or outfit values greater than 1.3, it is considered to be a misfit as it does not abide by Rasch model expectations due to a lack of coordination with other items within the measure and are considered for deletion. When an item has an infit value less than 0.6, it implies that an item is not contributing any unique information. If an item has a negative value, it implies over-fitting in that the item in question is dependent on another item within the measure (Bond & Fox, 2007).

Response Categories

With Likert scale data, the scale itself has thresholds which refers to the likelihood of being observed in a given response category (below threshold) is exceeded by the likelihood of being observed in the next higher category (above threshold). With this study, the FCS had five response options for each of the two subscales (e.g., Almost, Once In A While, Sometimes, Often or Frequently, Almost Always), there are four thresholds. Success within this context refers to participants selecting a response category and failure refers to a lack of endorsement of a response category. In addition, the Rasch measurement model assumes that each item within a measure has the same number of response categories. Ideally, at least 10 participants should select each

response category as fewer than 10 participants do not result in stable estimations of threshold values (Linacre, 1999).

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, minimums, and maximums for the two subscales (Likelihood & Severity) of the FCS and the IC. The mean for the Likelihood subscale was 27.3 (8.5). The Likelihood subscale means for adolescents born in India was lower at 26.1 (7.5) in comparison to means for adolescents born in the United States which was slightly higher at 27.8 (8.8) and for adolescents born neither in India nor the United States, which was the highest at 28.0 (17.0). The mean for the Severity subscale was 25.3 (9.0). The Severity subscale means for adolescents born in India was lower at 23.6 (8.0), slightly higher for adolescents born in the United States at 25.8 (9.4), and the highest for adolescents born neither in India nor the United States at 27.5 (16.3).

As seen in Table 2, the Cronbach's alpha for both the FCS ($\alpha = .94$) and IC ($\alpha = .87$) were rather good. The reliabilities for the two FCS subscales, Likelihood (FCS-L) and Severity (FCS-S) ranged from .87-.91, which were also rather good. The correlation between the two subscales were high as it was .89 and was significant at $p < .01$ which can be seen in table 3.

The correlation between the IC and the FCS-L was .40, which was significant at $p < .05$, and the correlation between IC and the FCS-S was .31, which was significant at $p < .01$.

Rasch measurement analysis of Asian American Family Conflict Scale Data

Likelihood Subscale

The item estimates from this subscale were gathered around the mean of zero, while the person estimates were toward the negative end of the logit scale. The person estimate mean of -0.40 (1.01) indicated that these estimates were more spread out compared to the item estimates, which had a mean of 0.00 (0.46) (see Table 4). In addition, these scores indicated that participants provided less information on the items than the items did on the participants. Lastly, the fit statistics for the item and the participant means appeared to be acceptable.

The reliability and separation statistics for the items (0.88 and 2.65) and participants (0.84 and 2.26) were very good. The reliability and separation values for the items indicated that the participants who took the measures separated items into more than two levels for the levels of the parent-adolescent conflict it could assess. The reliability and separation statistics for participants showed that the measure separated participants into two different levels, and that the observed person distribution would be duplicated with an equivalent set of items.

Item estimates ranged from -0.66 logits for Item 1, “Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions” to 0.75 logits for Item 7, “Your parents don’t want you to bring shame upon the family, but you feel that your parents are too concerned with saving face” (see Table 5). This narrow range of item estimates demonstrates the need for more items which assess varying levels of parent-adolescent conflict or to include more response categories that capture a range of

agreement from participants within this measure. In addition, none of the items were found to be misfits according to the output (see Table 5).

Table 6 shows the response category diagnostics for this subscale. The observed count column indicates there is adequate usage of four of the categories by participants; the exception is the “always” category, in which there was only nine counts by participants. This is below the required number of 10 participants in order to ensure that the threshold estimates are stable (Linacre, 1999).

Seriousness Subscale

The reliability and separation for the statistics for the items (0.81 and 2.05) were good and actually improved when looking at the person reliability and separation statistics (0.87 and 2.55). The reliability and separation values for the items indicated that the participants that took the test separated items into two levels for the levels of the parent-adolescent conflict construct it could assess. The reliability and separation statistics for participants showed that the test separated participants into approximately two levels, and that the observed person distribution would be duplicated with an equivalent set of items.

Item estimates ranged from -.69 logits for Item 3, “You have done well in school, but your parents academic expectations always exceed your performance” to 0.56 logits for Item 6 “Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you, but you wish they would show more physical and verbal signs of affection” (see Table 7). This narrow range demonstrates the necessity for more items assessing high and low levels of parent-adolescent conflict within the measure or including more response categories that capture a range of levels of agreement with items

from participants. In addition, item 10 “Your parents demand that you always show respect for elders, but you believe in showing respect only if they deserve it,” was found to be a misfit (see Table 8).

The response category diagnostics can be found in Table 9. The observed count column indicates that there was adequate usage of four of the categories by participants. The exception being the “extremely” category, in which there was only six counts by participants. This is cause for concern over the confidence held in the threshold estimates as a minimum of 10 responses from participants are required (Linacre, 1999).

Analysis of Issues Checklist Data

Rasch analysis was not possible with the Issues Checklist data as there were not equal responses from participants for all of the items. Upon examining the data, there were six topics in which more than ten participants responding to getting “a little angry” or “angry” in the past four weeks. These topics were: cleaning bedroom, doing homework, putting away clothes, fighting with brothers and sisters, helping out around the house, and talking back to parents. One of these topics appeared in interviews with Asian Indian adolescents: Talking back to parents. This topic is outlined later on in the qualitative analysis section as it is also tied with the Asian Indian cultural value of respect to elders and the cultural norm of the hierarchical parent-child relationship.

Relationship between acculturative stress and parent-adolescent conflict

In order to try and understand how acculturative stress played a role in conflict among these adolescents, several multiple regression analyses were carried out (see Table 10). A multiple regression was conducted to see if acculturative stress, age of participant and number of years that a participant has lived in the United States predicted scores on

the FCS-L subscale. Findings indicated that these three variables explained 14.8% of the variance in AAFCS-L scores ($R^2 = .15$, $F(3, 48) = 2.79$, $p = .05$). However, only acculturative stress ($\beta = -.38$, $p < .01$) significantly predicted FCS-L scores.

Another multiple regression was conducted to see if acculturative stress, age of participant and number of years that a participant has lived in the United States predicted scores on the FCS-S subscale. Findings indicated that these three variables explained only 11.0% of the variance in FCS-S scores ($R^2 = .11$, $F(3, 48) = 1.97$, $p = .13$). However, only acculturative stress ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .05$) significantly predicted FCS-S scores.

A third multiple regression was conducted to examine whether or not acculturative stress, age of participant and number of years that a participant has lived in the United States predicted scores on the IC. Results showed that these three variables explained 20.0% of the variance in IC scores ($R^2 = .20$, $F(3, 48) = 3.91$, $p < .05$). However, only acculturative stress ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .001$) significantly predicted IC scores.

Qualitative Findings

Although the quantitative findings show that the FCS measures parent-adolescent conflict well in this sample and there is a relationship between acculturative stress and parent-adolescent conflict, the qualitative interviews help illuminate why the FCS works well within this sample and also showed the ways in which acculturative stress resulted in parent-adolescent conflict.

When coding the interview transcripts, two broad themes were developed: Discrepancy in expectations between parents and adolescents and the desire to become autonomous (see Table 11). These themes and subthemes are explained in greater detail

below. The names in the examples provided below are pseudonyms and are not the actual names of study participants.

Discrepancy in expectations between parents and adolescents

This theme captures the differences between parental expectations and adolescents' expectations of themselves. Participants often articulated that their parents held on to traditional Indian values and took part in cultural activities and expected that their children do the same. However, many adolescents' were raised in the mainstream Western society, had adopted mainstream Western values and wanted to participate in many Western activities rather than solely Asian Indian activities (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). For example, Kareena said, "...my mom never let me be in girl scouts" as her mom wanted her to take Bharatnatyam, a style of classical Indian dance and "...didn't want me to do Girl Scouts." Within this overarching theme, there were four subthemes: pre-selected vocational expectations, participation in cultural activities, pursuit of romantic relationships, and family reputation within the community.

Pre-selected vocational expectations

This sub-theme refers to parents restricting their children's career interests to only vocational options in medicine or engineering, as they were professions that ensured career and financial stability. A young woman named Deepika talked about this expectation within the Asian Indian community in general and said "...with Indians, it's usually engineer or doctor, usually that's the career pathways that usually work for Indian parents." Deepika expressed her frustration with her parents lack of support as she was interested in becoming a teacher, however, her parents would not allow her to pursue this interest and instead encouraged her to focus her energies towards a career in medicine, as

that was a more lucrative career. She also said that this was something that came up with many of her peers, as some of her other friends wanted to pursue non-traditional careers, however, their parents were also not supportive of this and redirected their children's interests into the more traditional and acceptable vocations such as engineering and medicine.

Participation in cultural activities

This sub-theme encompasses parents encouraging their children to take part in traditional religious ceremonies in order to “stay connected” to their roots. Hrithik talked about his parents performing religious ceremonies each morning and frequently visiting the temple and encouraging him to take part in this. Hrithik described himself as an atheist and did not agree with the values laid out in Hinduism, which is what his parents followed; yet he felt as though he had to take part in religious ceremonies with his parents. With regards to his parents, Hrithik said, “They still have their traditional background and me wanting to get the sacred thread and all that...” The sacred thing that he was referring to was the coming of age sacred thread ceremony that is typically performed for young boys in certain Hindu families. This ceremony is a major event in a young man's life as it implies that he is now grown up enough to learn traditional Hindu scriptures. However, since Hrithik did not believe in these scriptures, he did not want to have this ceremony and he struggled with figuring out how to please his parents and have the ceremony but also stay true to himself.

Pursuit of romantic relationships

This sub-theme emerged as adolescents described their desire to date their peers despite their parents forbidding them from doing so. Katrina said “...my parents don't

allow us to date and things like that.” She said that her parents had told her that she was going to have an arranged marriage when she finished college and so there was no need for her to go out and meet people when they would find the person for her to marry. Katrina rationalized this expectation as her parents being concerned about her safety and well being and fear that strangers would harm them. This is consistent with previous findings where Indian parents have described feeling accountable to protect their daughters up until they are married and thus impose more restrictions on what they can and cannot do (Ranganath & Ranganath, 1997; Segal, 1998; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). However, this discouragement of dating was not something that only happened with young women. Several young men talked about their parents forbidding them from dating such as Uday. Uday’s parents had talked with him about how his priorities needed to be getting into a top college and then from there getting a good job. He said that “...in terms of dating, that’s really not, my parents are super conservative when it comes to that...like they don’t really want me dating anyone...” Uday did not understand his parent’s opposition to dating as he had a high GPA, volunteered, and was on track to go to an Ivy League college. He said that he felt “...frustrated because I’m doing all of these things that they want” and so he chose to disregard his parents wishes and date anyway. He talked about how his father was technically savvy and had mined his Facebook logs and found out about his relationship and that had blown up and resulted in a major argument with his parents.

Family reputation within the community

This sub-theme captured adolescents rationalizing their parents’ expectations due to their parents desire to ensure that their family had a “good name” within the local

Asian Indian community. Adolescents often talked about receiving many lectures from their parents about “behaving well” and constantly being conscious of their actions as aunties and uncles in the community would report back to their parents if they would doing something that was not the norm (e.g., clothing choices, staying out late) which would result in disagreements with their parents. For example, Divya had stayed out late with some friends at a local movie theater and had run into some of her family friends. She exchanged some polite pleasantries with them and then continued to hang out with her friends. When Divya went home, her parents inquired as why she was out so late although “... my parents don’t tell me I have a curfew, but they don’t like it when I get back really late either so yeah, it’s kind of weird because if I get back too late then they’ll be like you had a curfew and I’ll be like but you didn’t tell me I had a curfew, so yeah, it’s kind of weird.” Divya was confused as to why her parents were raising concerns, as they typically were lenient towards staying out late one night a week for social events as they knew her friends and knew what they did to hang out. Upon further discussion with her parents, Divya realized that her family friends had called her mother to ask why Divya was out so late at night. Her parents were concerned with saving face within the community and ensuring that the Indian community saw her family in a good light that they were became more concerned with what Divya was doing with her friends.

This first theme captured conflict that was rooted in cultural differences between parents and adolescents. The conflict could primarily be attributed due to parents adhering to more traditional Asian Indian values and their children adopting more mainstream Western values. As a result, conflict may arise as these two value systems greatly differ. The second broad theme that emerged and is outlined below aligns more

closely with some topics on the IC and have been attributed to “normative” conflict that arises during adolescence.

Desire to become autonomous

This broad theme captures adolescents’ desire to make choices on their own without their parents. Many adolescents described wanting to have their parents input with decisions but ultimately making the final decision on their own. This is something that came about with decisions of all sizes. For example, Vidya talked about having to have her mom’s approval of her clothing purchases. She said, “...I have to ask my mom if I can buy something...she likes to ‘approve’ some of my purchases...” Vidya went clothing shopping with a friend and thought a dress looked really good and wanted to purchase it and so she called her mom to ask if she could buy the dress. Vidya’s mom said that she needed to “come see it first and so she comes over there and she says yea so I bought it...” Vidya talked about her frustration that she could not choose what clothes she could wear – something that she saw being a smaller decision. Within this theme, two subthemes were created: parental control over adolescent’s decisions and respect towards elders.

Parental control over adolescent’s decisions

This sub-theme refers to parents telling adolescents what they will do with regards to their academics, cultural and religious obligations, and daily decisions. For example, Akanksha talked about conflict arising with her mother when she decided to get a spa treatment without her mother’s prior approval. She talked about how “...one time it was after IB testing and I got myself a mani pedi, and I came home and my mom saw it and she yelled at me for getting one without asking her.” Akanksha talked about how even

though she was spending her own money, her mother still expected that she ask for permission before doing all different sorts of activities. This permission "...ranges from going out to hang out with my friends to can I make this for dinner." She talked about her frustration in needed her mother's permission to do anything and how she felt as though she was treated like a child even though she was legally an adult. This disconnect in her expectation to be treated more like an adult and less like a child reflects the traditional value of many Indian parents in retaining the hierarchical parent-child relationship and is further explored in the respect towards elders subtheme below.

Respect towards elders

Respect towards elders refers to adolescents describing their parents rationalization towards decision making as them needing to do as their parents say as their parents know best. This was a point of contention for many adolescents, as they felt conflicted as they had tremendous respect for their parents and wanted to do what would make their parents happy, yet they also wanted to make their own decisions and be independent. For example, Arjun said that he had wanted to drop a class in high school as he was not doing well in the class and it was ruining his GPA. When he brought it up to his parents, "...they've always like people with high GPAs so why aren't you getting you know this kid's doing this well so why aren't you doing that well..." Their response to Arjun's request to drop the class was to ask why he wasn't succeeding when others in the Indian community were and then when he tried to talk about how his circumstances were different, his parents perceived that he was being disrespectful and backtalking and talked about how he needed to respect his parents and their wishes. His parents expected that respect towards elders would be shown by their child dutifully doing as they wished

(e.g., not dropping the class and maintaining a high GPA), consistent with traditional Indian cultural values that children do as they parents say without any question.

Discussion

Acculturative stress was a significant predictor across the FCS as well as the IC. This finding partially supported the hypothesis of higher levels of acculturative stress predicting acculturation-based conflict but not every day conflict. The unexpected finding was that acculturative stress was also predictive of scores on the IC, implying that perhaps acculturation-based conflict and every day conflict are not completely different types of conflict within Asian Indian families.

However, acculturative stress only accounted for 14.8% of the variance in FCS-Likelihood scores, 11.0% of the variance in FCS-Seriousness scores, and 20.0% of the variance in the IC scores. Although acculturative stress does contribute to parent-adolescent conflict, there are other factors that ought to be considered that account for the remaining variance in scores on the conflict measures. In thinking about other contributing factors, the findings from the Rasch analysis and interview data yield some insight.

From a quantitative standpoint, the FCS was found to be a scale that measured parent-adolescent conflict rather well. That is to say that this measure generally have cultural measurement equivalence, as predicted, with the exception of item 10 on the FCS-Seriousness subscale. The qualitative analysis of interview data found that adolescents tended to experience conflict with their parents over discrepancies between parent-adolescent expectations across a variety of domains, which can also be attributed to an acculturation gap and did generate insights that were not gathered from the

quantitative measures, as predicted. The IC could not be analyzed via Rasch analysis and the qualitative data did capture two topics on the IC that adolescents described that they conflicted over with their parent however, those topics are closely tied to cultural values.

The FCS is a measure of intergenerational family conflict that occurs as a result of differences in values and expectations (Miller & Lee, 2009). It was discrepancies in expectations between parents and adolescents that was the most prevalent theme in the interviews. That this, the FCS was well developed to tap into adolescents' experiences with parent-adolescent conflict which also emerged with the interview data. The most pervasive parent-adolescent expectation discrepancies from interviews with adolescents were surrounding vocational pursuits, initiation of dating, and family reputation within the community.

Parents' intervening in adolescents' selection of a career is item 1 on the FCS: Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions. This item resonated with many participants as adolescents described being unhappy that their parents wanted them to pick careers that resulted in financial success rather than careers that were personally fulfilling. This is consistent with findings from a study with Asian Indian high school students (Asher, 2002). Asher's qualitative study asked students about what messages they received from their parents as well as teachers pertaining to academics, vocations, and identity. Interviews with students showed that students felt pressure from their parents to pursue high paying careers such as jobs in sciences over jobs that provided personal enjoyment (e.g., teaching).

Dating itself was not a specific item on the FCS and is in fact item 24 on the IC: going on dates. Asian Indian adolescents within this sample disagreed with their parents

about getting into romantic relationships. Being raised in the mainstream Western culture, where dating tends to be a rite of passage during adolescence, many participants wanted to also begin relationships with their peers. However, within traditional Indian culture, dating is not something that typically occurs as elders in the families arrange the marriages (Segal, 1998). Although dating itself was not an item on the FCS, the fact that it came up in interviews further shows the utility in having multiple measures (i.e., FCS and IC) in order to fully capture the breadth of topics that results in parent-adolescent conflict.

Being constantly aware that adolescents' actions were being judged was a consistent experience for many adolescents. Adolescents described wanting to do what was needed in order to preserve the family's standing in the community. They disagreed with their parents but were unsure of how to go about doing so. Those who had gone against traditional Indian expectations (e.g., had not gone to a reputed college, were not intending on becoming a doctor or engineer) were looked down upon by members of the community. As a result, many adolescents did not feel that they had the space to talk about conflict with their parents and how best to approach their parents to have a conversation about topics of disagreement. An opportunity within the community would be to develop workshops to facilitate culturally competent listening and discussion among families.

One unexpected finding from the current study was the misfit of item 10 from the seriousness subscale from the FCS, which was "Your parents demand that you always show respect for elders, but you believe in showing respect only if they deserve it." Due to the emphasis on family and respect towards elders within traditional Asian Indian

culture, it was unexpected that this item was not a good fit with this population. A potential explanation for this came out of the interviews with adolescents. These teenagers rationalized the conflict that occurred with their parents. Many adolescents described being conflicted between doing as they wished and doing what their parents wanted. They understood that their parents grew up in another culture, which was greatly different to mainstream Western culture, and due to the immense respect that they had towards their elders, they were unsure of how to disagree with their parents. Since adolescents were able to take their parent's perspective and did not outwardly disagree with their parents, which would result in conflict, this item would not successfully measure the severity of conflict within this sample. This theme of respect towards elders also emerged within a topic that was on the IC, which was: talking back to parents. Due to a similar item appearing on both measures as well as interview data yet again shows that conflict between parents and adolescents is highly complex in nature and it may not be easy to disentangle which conflict is rooted in cultural value differences and what is normative developmental conflict.

Although this study contributed to the growing family relations literature among Asian Indians literature, there were several limitations. First, this study focused solely on adolescents. Conflict is a dynamic process that occurs between parents and adolescents. In order to capture a complete understanding of what parent-adolescent conflict looks like within this community, it would be important to consider conflict from the parents perspective as well as adolescents perspective in future research. Second, this study did not consider ethnicity of peer relationships. Kroger (1985) found that adolescents experience intimacy with peers during adolescence and may diminish the importance of

their parents. As a result, same-ethnic peers have a strong influence on the ethnic attitudes and behaviors of adolescents. Second-generation youth with many same-ethnic peers may identify more strongly with traditional Asian Indian culture and thus may not experience as much conflict with their first generation parents. Future research ought to consider same ethnic peer relationships to help understand the varying levels of conflict within Asian Indian families. Lastly, conflict emerged with adolescents as not only external with parents, but also as an internal conflict within themselves about whether or not something should result in a larger, verbal disagreement with parents. As a result, future research ought to investigate internal conflict to see if this type of conflict is detrimental or adaptive for Asian Indian adolescents.

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Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Scales and Subscales

Scale	Subscale	N	Minimum	Maximum	M	SD
Asian American Family Conflict Scale (AAFCS)		-	-	-	-	-
	Likelihood	52	13.0	40.0	27.3	8.5
	Seriousness	52	10.0	41.0	25.3	9.0
Issues Checklist	-	52	53.0	138.0	81.1	20.3

Table 2
Reliability Statistics for Scales

Scale	Subscale	N	Cronbach's Alpha
Asian American Family Conflict Scale (AAFCS)		52	.94
	Likelihood	52	.87
	Seriousness	52	.91
Issues Checklist	-	52	.87

Table 3
Asian American Family Conflict Scale Subscale Correlations

	Likelihood	Severity
Likelihood	-	.89**
Severity	.89**	-

Note. ** $p < .01$

Table 4

Rasch Measurement Summary Item and Person Statistics for the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale – Likelihood Subscale

	Estimate Mean	Infit		Outfit		Reliability	Separation
		MNSQ (SD)	STD (SD)	MNSQ (SD)	STD (SD)		
Item	.00 (.46)	1.03 (.19)	.2 (1.0)	1.00 (.20)	.0 (1.0)	0.88	2.65
Person	-.40 (1.01)	1.02 (.51)	.0 (1.1)	1.00 (.49)	.0 (1.1)	0.84	2.26

Note. Estimate values are in logits. MNSQ = mean squares fit values; STD = t-standardized fit values.

Table 5
*Rasch Measurement Item Estimates and Fit Statistics for the Asian American Family
 Conflicts Scale - Likelihood Subscale*

Item	Estimates	Error	Infit		Outfit	
			MNSQ	STD	MNSQ	STD
1	-.66	.16	.93	-.3	.93	-.3
2	.14	.15	1.08	.5	1.10	.5
3	-.58	.15	1.32	1.6	1.35	1.7
4	.38	.15	1.01	.1	.99	.0
5	-.63	.16	.84	-.8	.83	-.9
6	.43	.16	1.13	.7	1.07	.4
7	.75	.16	1.03	.2	.90	-.4
8	.12	.15	.83	-.9	.80	-1.0
9	.00	.15	.80	-1.1	.74	-1.4
10	.05	.15	1.39	1.9	1.31	1.5

Note. Estimate values are in logits. MNSQ = mean squares fit values; STD = t-standardized fit values

Table 6
*Rasch Measurement Response Category Diagnostics for the Asian American Family
 Conflicts Scale - Likelihood Subscale*

Category Label	Observed Count (%)	Observed Average	Expected Average	Infit MNSQ	Outfit MNSQ	Structure Measure	S.E.
1. Almost Never	118 (23)	-1.63	-1.54	.89	.89	-	-
2. Once in A While	120 (23)	-.70	-.81	1.13	1.00	-1.20	.13
3. Sometimes	113 (22)	-.05	-.13	.77	.71	-.39	.12
4. Often or Frequently	120 (23)	.31	.40	1.35	1.46	.09	.12
5. Always	49 (9)	.81	.79	1.01	.98	1.50	.17

Note. MNSQ = mean squares fit values; S.E. = standard error

Table 7

Rasch Measurement Summary Item and Person Statistics for the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale – Seriousness Subscale

	Estimate	Infit		Outfit		Reliability	Separation
	Mean	MNSQ (SD)	STD (SD)	MNSQ (SD)	STD (SD)		
Item	.00 (.42)	1.01 (.24)	.0 (1.2)	.97 (.24)	-.2 (1.2)	0.81	2.05
Person	-.88 (1.60)	.97 (.57)	-.1 (1.2)	.97 (.57)	-.1 (1.2)	0.87	2.55

Note. Estimate values are in logits. MNSQ = mean squares fit values; STD = t-standardized fit values.

Table 8
*Rasch Measurement Item Estimates and Fit Statistics for the Asian American Family
 Conflicts Scale - Seriousness Subscale*

Item	Estimates	Error	Infit		Outfit	
			MNSQ	STD	MNSQ	STD
1	-.25	.17	.66	-1.9	.67	-1.8
2	.28	.18	.80	-1.0	.73	-1.3
3	-.69	.17	1.10	.6	1.11	.6
4	.41	.18	1.00	.0	.91	-.4
5	-.54	.17	1.02	.2	1.06	.4
6	.56	.18	1.24	1.2	1.17	.8
7	.47	.18	.97	-.1	.89	-.4
8	-.14	.17	.71	-1.6	.69	-1.6
9	-.25	.17	1.11	.6	1.01	.1
10	.16	.17	1.51	2.3	1.50	2.1

Note. Estimate values are in logits. Poor fit items are bolded. MNSQ = mean squares fit values; STD = t-standardized fit values

Table 9
*Rasch Measurement Response Category Diagnostics for the Asian American Family
 Conflicts Scale - Seriousness Subscale*

Category Label	Observed Count (%)	Observed Average	Expected Average	Infit MNSQ	Outfit MNSQ	Structure Measure	S.E.
1. Not At	108 (22)	-1.90	-1.91	1.08	1.04	-	-
2. Slightly	133 (27)	-1.04	-1.06	1.11	1.03	-1.68	.13
3. Moderately	114 (23)	-.39	-.29	.98	.91	-.52	.12
4. Very Much	105 (21)	.53	.47	.83	.86	.18	.13
5. Extremely	30 (6)	1.05	1.03	1.07	1.02	2.02	.21

Note. MNSQ = mean squares fit values; S.E. = standard error

Table 10

Summary of Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Scores on Conflict Measures

(N = 52)

	FCS – Likelihood			FCS – Seriousness			IC		
Variable	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Acculturative Stress	.02	.007	.38**	.02	.007	.32*	.01	.004	.45***
Participant Age	-.007	.09	-.01	.02	.10	.03	-.05	.06	-.11
Number of Years Lived in United States	.02	.05	.05	.02	.05	.05	.01	.03	.05
R ²									
F		.15			.11			.20	
		2.79			1.97			3.91*	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Table 11
Inductively Developed Themes and Subthemes

Broad theme	Subthemes
Discrepancy in expectations between parents and adolescents	Pre-selected vocational expectations
	Participation in cultural activities
	Pursuit of romantic relationships
	Family reputation within the community
Issues Checklist	Parental control over adolescent's decisions
	Respect towards elders

Appendix A
Issues Checklist

Topic			How many times?	Calm		A little angry		Angry
1. Telephone calls	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
2. Time for going to bed	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
3. Cleaning up bedroom	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
4. Doing homework	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
5. Putting away clothes	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
6. Using the television	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
7. Cleanliness (washing, showers, brushing teeth)	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
8. Which clothes to wear	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
9. How neat clothing looks	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
10. Making too much noise at home	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
11. Table manners	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
12. Fighting with brothers and sisters	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5

13. Cursing	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
14. How money is spent	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
15. Picking books or movies	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
16. Allowance	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
17. Going places without parents (shopping, movies, etc.)	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
18. Playing stereo or radio too loudly	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
19. Turning off lights in house	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
20. Drugs	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
21. Taking care of records, games, bikes, pets and other things	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
22. Drinking beer or other liquor	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
23. Buying records, games, toys, and things	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
24. Going on dates	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
25. Who	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5

should be friends								
26. Selecting new clothes	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
27. Sex	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
28. Coming home on time	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
29. Getting to school on time	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
30. Getting low grades in school	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
31. Getting in trouble at school	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
32. Lying	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
33. Helping out around the house	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
34. Talking back to parents	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
35. Getting up in the morning	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
36. Bothering parents when they want to be left alone	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
37. Bothering teenager when he/she wants to be left alone	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
38. Putting feet on	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5

furniture								
39. Messing up the house	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
40. What time to have meals	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
41. How to spend free time	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
42. Smoking	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
43. Earning money away from the house	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5
44. What teenager eats	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

Asian American Family Conflicts Scale

The following statements are parent-child situations that may occur in your family. Consider how likely each situation occurs in your present relationship with your parents and how serious these conflicts are. Read each situation and answer the following questions using the following rating scales:

How likely is this type of situation to occur in your family?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5
 Almost Never Once In A While Sometimes Often or Frequently Almost Always

How serious a problem is this situation in your family?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5
 Not At Slightly Moderately Very Much
 Extremely

1. Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions.
2. Your parents tell you that a social life is not important at this age, but you think that it is.
3. You have done well in school, but your parents academic expectations always exceed your performance.
4. Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair.
5. Your parents always compare you to others, but you want them to accept you for being yourself.
6. Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you, but you wish they would show more physical and verbal signs of affection.
7. Your parents don't want you to bring shame upon the family, but you feel that your parents are too concerned with saving face.
8. Your parents expect you to behave like a proper Asian male or female, but you feel your parents are being too traditional.
9. You want to state your opinion, but your parents consider it to be disrespectful to talk back.
10. Your parents demand that you always show respect for elders, but you believe in showing respect only if they deserve it.

Appendix C

Social, Attitudinal, Familial, and Environmental Acculturation Stress Scale

Below are a number of statements that might be seen as stressful. For each statement that you have experienced, circle only one of the following numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, or 5), according to how stressful you find the situation.

- 1 = NOT AT ALL STRESSFUL
- 2 = SOMEWHAT STRESSFUL
- 3 = MODERATELY STRESSFUL
- 4 = VERY STRESSFUL
- 5 = EXTREMELY STRESSFUL

STATEMENTS:

1. I feel uncomfortable when others make jokes about or put down people of my ethnic background.
2. I have more barriers to overcome than most people.
3. It bothers me that family members I am close to do not understand my new values.
4. Close family members have different expectations about my future than I do.
5. It is hard to express to my friends how I really feel.
6. My family does not want me to move away but I would like to.
7. It bothers me to think that so many people use drugs.
8. It bothers me that I cannot be with my family.
9. In looking for a good job, I sometimes feel that my ethnicity is a limitation.
10. I don't have any close friends.
11. Many people have stereotypes about my culture or ethnic group and treat me as if they are true.
12. I don't feel at home.
13. People think I am unsociable when in fact I have trouble communicating in English.
14. I often feel that people actively try to stop me from advancing.
15. It bothers me when people pressure me to become part of the main culture.
16. I often feel ignored by people who are supposed to assist me.
17. Because I am different I do not get the credit for the work I do.
18. It bothers me that I have an accent.
19. Loosening the ties with my country is difficult.
20. I often think about my cultural background.
21. Because of my ethnic background, I feel that others often exclude me from participating in their activities.
22. It is difficult for me to "show off" my family.
23. People look down upon me if I practice customs of my culture.
24. I have trouble understanding others when they speak.